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WILL THE USSR STRIKE SOON?

The entire world is deeply worried about the imminence of another world war. Many speculations are being made about the Soviet intentions and their time table.

Nobody knows whether the Soviets will launch a world war and if they do so the time of their attack cannot be predicted. It is even futile to speculate on this subject as there is no evidence of when the Soviets ^{will} unleash the World War III.

Therefore, it is much more essential to analyse the internal and international situation in the USSR in order to find out whether the USSR is prepared to carry out a prolonged war ^{of} a large scale.

1. The Strategic Position of the USSR

The strategic position of the USSR is much more favorable than that of the non-communist world. As a matter of fact the strategic-geographic position of the USSR is very favorable, indeed. The USSR has expanded its domination ~~and~~ on areas which never belonged to Russia before and increased its territory immensely:

- a) about 13 900 sq. miles of Finnish territory following the war in 1939 - 1940.
- b) " 247 000 square miles of the Baltic countries, Bessarabia, Germany, and so on.

The total increase of territory is about 260 000 square miles.

The Soviet Union has common boundaries with the following states at the present time: Norway, Finland, Sweden and Denmark (maritime frontiers), Poland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, China (Sinkiang and Manchuria), ^{Japan,} Outer Mongolia, Korea (the Vladivostok area), the United States (Behring Strait). Thus the Soviet Union is in a position to start a war in any of the mentioned areas. To this we should add that the USSR has a large number of ^{Albania,} "satellites" - Poland, Eastern Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, ^{Outer} Mongolia, Northern Korea, and the Communist China. This brings the USSR closer to West Germany, Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, Tibet, India, Indo-China, Philippines, Japan, and many other countries and enables the Soviets to attack any country of Europe or Asia and jeopardise the ^{very} existence of the whole Europe and Asia.

The Soviet Union is also in a state of better preparedness than the non-communist world. Even the present allies of the Great powers - the United States, Great Britain, ^{and} France are

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by far ~~more~~ inferior to the Red Army : we do not know the actual figures of armies of the non-communist countries ,but we are not mistaken if we put their figure below 2 000 000 in the whole world .

The most important and decisive armies are those of the United States,Great Britain and France.What they have at the present time is not much : Great Britain has in Europe less than 500 000 of combat troops,France has,perhaps, 200 000 ,and the United States have less than one million in the whole world.The other armies - Swiss,Scandinavian armies,Turkish,Greek,Italian,and Spanish armies cannot be taken seriously into account.

The Soviet Union has at least 200 ~~000~~ combat divisions at the present time and can mobilise another 200~~000~~ or 300 ~~000~~ in no time.To this we may add the poorly trained and not too numerous satellite armies - Romanian,Polish,Czechoslovak,and so on with at least 100 ~~000~~ divisions without the Chinese army.The total strength of the communist armies exceeds 5 000 000^{men} at the present time.

Thus everything is favorable to the Soviets and unfavorable to the free world.

The Korean war has demonstrated that the conceptions of the strength of satellites armies were wrong : if even a semi-savage country like Korea has a highly trained and excellently equipped army it is obvious that the Polish or Czechoslovak army are at least equal to the North Korean army.

The obsolete idea that the strength of the Soviet army is in its number is wrong : the Soviet army is both numerous and well equipped, having good tanks, a strong air force, an excellent artillery, at least 300 submarines (I think they have 500 or even more), a numerous mosquito torpedo fleet (it was about 2000 vessels before the World War II), numerous rockets, and even atomic bombs. Before the world war II the general conception was that a well equipped European army of 2000000 is at least equal to 5 000 000 Soviet troops because of better equipment and training. At the present time this representation would not be correct : a Soviet army of 5 000 000 is just as strong as a 5 000 000 non-communist army.

The Soviets are in a more favorable position also from that point of view that while the war industry of all the other countries including the United States is highly vulnerable from the air the Soviet industry is greatly dispersed and disconcentrated.

While an air raid on Pittsburgh will knock out a high percentage of the United States' war industry an air raid on Magnitogorsk or Karaganda will cause a damage of less than 5 percent of the Soviet industry.

The Soviets are also in ^amore favorable position, because they have developed a new weapon almost lacking in other countries : this is the guided missiles and rockets which can be discharged from distances of more than 1000 miles. The Soviet need no air craft to let them go down in the United Kingdom and even in the United States.

The Soviets have also a large fifth column in all countries. Sabotage and subversive actions of communists in Western Europe and in the United States will be carried out during the future war in great proportions.

Thus, the only possible way to counterbalance the Soviets is a speedy increase of armed forces in all non-communist countries with a large participation of Spanish and German armies, participation of Turkey and Greece in the Atlantic pact, and strengthening of the non-communist Near- and Far Eastern armies. However the non-communist world is running short of time. The World crisis will probably take place not later than in 1952, but in our opinion even much sooner.

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2. Form of Aggression

However an important circumstance (and it is a helpful one) should not be disregarded. Although the internal ~~political~~ situation ~~in~~ in the USSR is not too favorable, and there is shortage of food and all sorts of commodities and housing, although the Soviet industry has not completely recovered after the last war and there is shortage of many things this circumstance is not the main point. First of all, when discussing the shortage of steel or oil in the Soviet Union usually one thing is disregarded : although the output of steel ⁱⁿ of the USSR is by far inferior to that in the United States the facilities of the satellites are usually not taken into consideration. The steel production in the USSR is inferior to that in the United States, this is true. But on other hand, the Soviets have several satellites producing steel : Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Eastern Germany. Besides, if the Soviets strike they seemingly will do so in the hope to take the Ruhr and

Barre in the first few days of the war. On the other hand, they will seemingly drive into Iran and Iraq and take the local oil wells, cutting them from the Western non-communists. Thus to start a war the Soviets can rely upon the possibility to increase their war potential^{ial} at the very beginning of the war and, on the other hand, to strike a blow upon the war potential of their adversaries.

Thus the economic inferiority of the Soviet Union matters less than we are expecting. However, there is another circumstance which is ~~more~~^{really} favorable.

The Soviets are the heirs of the Czarist Russian strategy. The Russians do not like aggressive wars ~~up~~ upon great powers. During the last 150 years the Russians never launched wars upon great powers. The Russian wars in the 19th and 20th centuries were the following ones :

- 1) The Napoleonic wars in 1806 and 1812 - 1813, Russia 0000 was attacked by Napoleon.
- 2) The Crimean war in 1855 - 56 : Russia was attacked by France, Turkey, Great Britain, and Italy.
- 3) The Japanese war in 1904 : Russia was attacked by the Japanese.
- 4) World War I : Russia was attacked by Germany and Austria.
- 5) Border incidents with Japan and Manchukuo in 1938 caused by Japan.
- 6) World War II : the USSR was attacked by Hitler.

The Russian aggressive wars were carried out only upon minor and weak countries :

- 1) War with Finland in 1808 - 1809: Russia attacked and took Finland.
- 2) War with the Caucasian peoples in the ~~XI~~^{XII} century .
- 3) Wars with the Middle Asian countries in the XII century.
- 4) Wars with Turkey of which that in 1870 - 1871 was the greatest one. Turkey was considered a "sick man".
- 5) Attack on Finland in 1939 with Hitler's consent.
- 4) "Peaceful" annexation of East Poland, the Baltic countries, Bessarabia in 1940 with Hitler's consent.

Among these ^{aggressive} wars there ~~is~~^{is} not a single one carried out against a mighty great power.

The reasons for this are the following :

- a) The Russians (and the Soviets) are better defenders than invaders. They dare to

invade a large and mighty country only after crushing its war potential (example - Germany).

b) The Russians and Soviets rely mostly upon the immensity of the space of their country.

c) The Russians (and the Soviets) rely mostly upon their partisans (examples : Napoleonic war in 1812 - 1813, the World War II).

d) The Soviets do not trust their troops and would not push them into a large foreign country at the very beginning of a war unless that country is already beaten. This is because of their anxiety to prevent their troops from learning what other countries are like.

e) The Soviets sincerely believe that only a "just" war can be victorious. Although their propaganda will depict every war started by the Soviets as a "just" one the Soviets will know in their hearts that their attack is not a justifiable one and, therefore, they will rather abstain from attacking a large country or a coalition of countries.

f) The Soviets know that the European peoples cannot be easily won for the cause of communism (things are different in the Far East). But the Europeans will not submit easily.

g) Unless the war potential of any of the great powers and in the first place that of the United States is hopelessly and definitely destroyed without prospect of a soon recovery the Soviets will avoid an armed clash with such powers, knowing that their first success will be followed by a long and exhaustive war in whose run the enemy may increase his strength and ultimately defeat the Soviets.

Therefore, it is unlikely that the Soviets will start an unprovoked war by attacking a great power or a group of such powers.

3. New Type of Soviet Attack

The Soviets need not start a major war, because they have developed a new type of aggressive wars much less dangerous to them and, as strange as it may sound, more acceptable to the non-communist world, because this new type of war will not necessarily become a global one. This new type of war is the satellite war, a war carried out by one or several satellites against another country or a group of countries. The Soviet Union will not officially participate in them and this circumstance will prevent these wars.

from growing into a global war. They can be limited and kept within one or several areas but will not necessarily become fronts of a world war.

The possible hearths of war are the following countries :

1) Indochina. Communist guerillas can invade Indochina in a greater number than before and even Communist China can officially participate in that war. Nevertheless this still can be prevented from becoming a global war : it will be a UNO and Chinese GOC conflict.

2) In Iran revolts and even a revolution inspired by the Soviets and carried out by Azerbaijan communists and the Tudeh party are possible. As there is no satellite on the Soviet borders which could carry out that war there will even not be a war but only a rebellion.

3) Turkey is more or less ^{safe} at the present time and there are no indications that anything serious can occur in that area.

4) Yugoslavia can be attacked by Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, and Albania, but this can still be localised and will not become a world war. Of course, the Yugoslavs should get material support and aid and even "volunteers" could be sent to help her. It would not be wise to convert that war into a global one at the present time while the non-communist world is still unprepared.

5) Eastern Germany can start a civil war in Germany and attack the Adenauer regime. The Soviets will not officially participate, because they know that an attack on an area occupied by the Allies would mean a global war.

Thus all the above named areas are in danger but in a ^{by} far less ^{or} danger than they could be in the event of the outbreak of a global war, because these potential wars can be localised and ~~and~~ kept in reasonable limits if the Western Powers do not let themselves be provoked and commit a mistake.

Such is the picture of the situation. If the Western Powers do not waste their time and are able to build up a strong military force in less than two years the direct Soviet aggression will not occur, but smaller local aggressions will become constant in the near future. The task of the diplomats is to prevent these small wars from becoming a global one until the non-communist world becomes as strong as the USSR is.

Of course, if the next aggression in Indochina or Yugoslavia is as successful as

... that of the Northern Koreans and if the UNO's armed forces are ^{thus} in as difficult a position ~~there~~ as they are at the present time in Korea this will be a circumstance inviting the Soviets to strike and to wage a world war. Therefore, the task is to create strong armed ~~own~~ forces before the Korean disaster repeats in another country.

A global war with the USSR is inevitable. The terms will depend greatly upon the following: 1) strength or weakness of the free world and 2) unwillingness of the free world to let itself be provoked; the skill of the diplomats.

Nevertheless, not later than in two years the World crisis will certainly take place. It depends solely upon the non-communist world to be prepared or unprepared. If the creation of a German army and a military pact with France Spain can contribute anything to the defense of Europe the necessary actions should be taken and the prejudice against the France regime should be dropped ^{the} ^{an armed} ~~name~~ as fear of Germany.

The coming war with the USSR will be a prolonged one. There is no prospect of mass desertion or surrender of the Red Army. The reasons of this were explained in another paper. Therefore, theories that the Red army will desert and surrender, that atomic bomb attacks will be sufficient to knock the Soviets out ~~should~~ be abandoned and attention should be paid to the organization of strong land armies.